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[For information on the role of the paí or ñanderú in the political structure of the community see also category 622.]

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/Information on the role of the yvyráídjá (officiants assisting the ñanderú or Paí) in the community will be found in category 624./

/For information on the role of the Paĩ or Ñanderũ in the political structure of the community, see also category 622./

/12 cont./

101 hungry. The Kayová curer really cures and he
186 even shows the sickness that he pulls out of the
• 1756] body, but the Guaraní curer is only a thief."

186 Nevertheless the hostility among the diverse subgroups of the
[648] tribe rarely goes so far as to take the form of open combat. With
reference to the Kaingáng /Caingang/ and other foreign tribes
the attitude is either one of fear or one of ridicule. It was in
general with lively interest that the engravings and photographs
from anthropological books that I showed them were commented
[101] upon. I frequently heard the name "Tupinambá" for any
Indians of unknown tribe.

For Brazilians of Portuguese origin, or "outside people," there
are various denominations, in general depreciatory: a neutral
one is ryvýpóra, which I heard among Mondéva of the Paulista
coast. These also call the Negroes "jaguar food," naturally
[825] based on the belief quite widespread in Brazil, that jaguars have
a special predilection for persons of black skin (14).

14. /From p. 23 of the original source./
Buarque de Holanda, 1948, p. 248.

175 The history of the Guaraní in Paulista territory is quite well
known, thanks to the works of Nimuendajú and other investigators.
It is known that among them there are no remnants of the ancient
Tupí of the coast, who had disappeared already in colonial times.
175 They are linked to the migratory currents, coming from the west,
169 that have followed one another since the first quarter of the last
[1773] century. The reason for these wanderings is the ryvý opá, the
[1787] end of the world, prophesied by the doctor-sorcerers. Among
the groups that have come to the coast, Nimuendajú shows the
bands of the Tañigua /Tanygua/ (1850), the Oguahéva /Oguaiva/
(1858), the Apapokéva /Apapocuva/ (1870), and in addition a
[361] relatively recent group that came in 1912. Over a century ago a
large settlement was founded in Rapuranga, near Itariré, on
land that seems to have been donated by the Baron of Antonina.

/95 cont./

881 867 577 not do harm to anyone, do not offend the families of others, do not mistreat anyone, behave well on journeys (that is, do not drink much liquor), have the tasks in the clearing done well, do not mistreat the woman when married" (3).

3. /From p. 98 of the original source./
Schaden, 1948c, p. 162.

[178] This enumeration is particularly interesting because of betraying the consciousness of so many problems that afflict the community in its present phase of cultural transition.

881 [184] [829] Only the Kayová give ritual emphasis to the piercing of the lip of the boys, with ceremonies of a religious stamp and not only measures of a magical nature. For the Kayová the celebration is the event that stands out most in his life cycle. Nevertheless, in the nuclei of southern Mato Grosso the celebration (called there kunumĩ-pepỹ, or kunumĩ-piéta, hybrid form) is doomed to disappear, an inevitable consequence of the dominant [114] new conditions of life in these groups. The data that I have were obtained principally in the village of Amambai.

[756] It is the ñanderú (paĩ) or doctor-sorcerer who decides on holding the celebration. Failing to hold it for a very long period, the community would be the victim of misfortunes. The common [304] [561] interval between one celebration and another, varying according to the number of boys of an age to have their lip pierced (between 8 and 12 years old, more or less) is about four years, on the aver- [628] age. On this occasion the Kayová of two or three neighboring villages gather together.

[243] In general the kunumĩ-pepỹ coincides in the respective year with the maize celebration, avatĩ-mongaraí (ceremonial harvesting of the first maize), which is held when the corn is ripening, that [561] is, from January on. For the piercing of the lip there ought to be about ten boys of the age indicated: those who are more than twelve years old no longer undergo the ceremony. Therefore there are adults who do not have the labial hole. As early as a year [262] in advance the candidates start avoiding heavy food, especially certain game, preferably nourishing themselves with chicha.

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881 The father or the mother of the boy, or both, undertake to conduct him to the village where the celebration is held. During the period of the ceremonies, which in general extends up to May, [782] /96/ there are prayers every night and also during the day. "Be- [829] cause they do not have anything to do, only that prayer," according to the expression of the Indian Vicente of Amambai.

[756] Preliminarily the ñanderú chooses and teaches the huitxá, "the chief of the kids" /Port. chefe dos guris"/, who subsequently [782] sings with his companions for many nights the prayers that he has learned, which are called kunumí porahéi. The boys "se resguardam" /guard themselves/, for they are in a state of (odjéhoakú) during this period which precedes the piercing and which can be prolonged for many months ("if the ñanderú orders"); and after the ceremony, the resguardo continues until the wound is healed, "until the ñanderú lets them go. It is the ñanderú who should know." The boy that does not se resguarde /guard himself/ with enough care, "grows up badly," that is, "he has illnesses." The resguardo, which does not include fasting, consists mainly in [262] the abstinence from meat. After the lip is pierced, the boy [752] nourishes himself on ripe bananas, principally avoiding mandioca flour, for otherwise it might get into the hole and it would be ruined (4).

4. /From p. 98 of the original source./ As a curiosity I shall note that in the interior of São Paulo there is the belief that, after they [304] pierce the ear lobes for the use of earrings, the [262] girls are supposed to abstain from certain foods, [752] especially mandioca flour and eggs. (A personal communication from Ruth Corrêa Leite Cardoso.)

[784] The boys, of course, are also not allowed to work.

[252] The boys have their own cook, a spinster or a widow. A [834] married woman cannot take on the task, for the cook should maintain sexual abstinence: if she sleeps with a man, the food would [542] be bad for the boys. The woman may not, like any other woman, [804] be present at the ceremony of the piercing of the lip.

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881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 [115] The kunumĩ-pepỹ is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the ñemonguỹ, the black dye of yváporoỹ tỹ (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyraídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the ñanderú or paĩ.

881 782 304 [192] [627] [056] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyraídjá also has the office of piercer -- the ñanderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apykâ, the ceremonial bench: in front of him there is another apykâ, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apykâ to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apykâ: the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyraídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5):

[801] [824] [314]

5. /Poem p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ỹ (also called mbavỹ: in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

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the winter, in September and October, that is, at the time of the "new leaves." In order to make the tembetá, one makes lozenge-shaped cuts in the bark of the pau-vidro, fastening under them a fine tube of takuarý (a suitable taquara because of having quite long sections), into which the resin runs for about two days. One or two days after that, when the resin has hardened, the taquara is broken away, the tembetá is smoothed with lixa-do-mato /polisher-from-the-forest/ (ambá-ý, a tree with rough leaves), the lower tip is fined with a knife, a stone splinter, or shard of glass, and a stud of the same resin is put on the upper part.

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the fourth is related to the apykà; the fifth, finally, to the act of taking the boy out of the cubicle in which he is found, in order to take him to the center of the village plaza, where the ceremony is held. None of these prayers is taught to the candidates, who have their own songs.

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One point must be especially accentuated, the one at which the crisis state of these being initiated reminds one of the couvade. Thus, just as the father -- and, with him, the mother -- are subjected to a series of restrictions, not only for their own benefit, but above all for that of the newborn baby, the ñanderú who directs the kunumí-pepý, as well as the yvyrúídjá who help him, are bound by the resguardo until the boys are healed. They do not eat meat, do not come in contact with fire, do not take hold of knives, machetes, and other iron objects, having also to maintain rigorous sexual abstinence. All this until the boys are healed, because "otherwise the hole is ruined." The sexual resguardo mentioned here might well be qualified as a Tobias period.

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621 least formally, in the hands of the capitão /captain, chief,
[648] leader/ of the village, appointed by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. By virtue of the little importance given to the exercise of the power, as long as it is essentially a political factor, there are in general no reasons for conflicts of competence.

622 The name ñanderú (1)
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1. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./ There seems to be no doubt but that the denomination paí, with which the Kayová also designate the religious chiefs, although they likewise use the term ñanderú, is etymologically linked to mbair. This was the name for the French among the Tupinambá of the fifteenth century, and, moreover, it occurs in the mythology of many Tupí tribes. As a mythological figure, Maíra is the companion or "counterpart" of Sumé in the Tupinambá traditions (see, for instance, Anchieta, 1933, p. 332); Bahira is the civilizer hero of the Parintintin of Amazonia (Nunes Pereira, 1945). The etymology of the name has given rise to different interpretations. The best known one is that of Teodoro Sampaio: "Mair, a name for the French among the Tupis of Brazil. The Guaranis of Paraguay called the Spanish -- mbaí. The two words Mair and Mbaí are contracted forms of mbae-ira, which expresses -- the one apart, the solitary one, the one who lives far away. From mbae-ira comes: mbaíra, maíra, mair, mbaí. The natives gave this name to the French and Spanish, not only because they came from afar, but also because they likened them, because of their superiority, to their own

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sorcerers, called pajés or caraíbas, who led a solitary life in the remote part of the forests, in the caves of the distant mountains." -- The replacement of mbaí by the form paí should not be surprising, because it is analogous to that of porahêi by mborahêi, which I have had the occasion to observe repeatedly in the speech of the Indians. Furthermore, it is to be noted that a Tupi tribe of northern Brazil, the Tenetehára, sometimes use the name of their civilizer hero Maíra as a synonym of "powerful pajé" (Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 100, note 3). And the Tupinambá of the Island of Maranhão, who used paí to say "prophet," resorted to the term to designate the European missionaries, as, incidentally, was also done in Paraguay. (See Claude d'Abbeville, 1945, p. 88, passim.) The use of paí as a designation for doctor-sorcerer has been discussed in the note "Pajé," of my authorship, inserted in the work by von Buggenhagen, 1951, pp. 129-131.

[787] given to the "prayer-man" /"rezador"/, or religious chief, seems to me to be simply transference of the designation of the chief of the great-family ("our father"), although I have heard from a Ñandéva the explanation that it is derived from the fact that the prayer-man, in dreams, communicates with Koarahý, solar di-
[624] vinity, also called Ñanderú by the Ñandéva and Mbüá. The latter also called the spiritual leader ñanderúvitxá ("our chief"),
[184] a term with which the capitão is likewise designated. In the three subgroups the ñanderú is seconded in the religious ceremonies by assistants who have the title of yvyráídjá.

/99 cont./

• 756 [622] Although the religious chief in general also exercises the functions of doctor-sorcerer, there are prayer-men who are not curers, and vice versa. Those who acquire fame in a community as great curers are many times individuals originally from another village. A saint does not make miracles at home. Among the Kayová of Dourados in 1950 there was a Ñandéva doctor-sorcerer, Pascoal by name, who had come from /100/ Paraguay: he was in great demand in cases of illness, but he had no importance at all in the religious life of the Kayová, whose prayers and dances he said he did not know. Pascoal was often the recipient of sincere and spontaneous manifestations of gratitude, which were frequently repeated. People brought him gifts, especially articles of food, and performed religious dances, accompanied by songs, in his honor. -- The most famous doctor-sorcerer that I have met, [114] and who at the same time directed the religious life of his village, was the Kayová José Bourbon Catalan Avelar, who lived at Amambai, but who also was said to have come from a different village.

622 756 [178] "In former times -- says Nimuendajú -- the Guaraní knew no chief but their doctor-sorcerer" (2).

2. /From p. 106 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 337.

And when the religious needs demand it, the ñanderú does not hesitate to take incisive precautions in the civil life as well, determining the moving of the village, ordering migrations, and other measures. But it is also possible that the Guaraní may 623 178 have formerly recognized a civil power aside from the authority of the ñanderú: the aforementioned assembly of the family chiefs, nowadays with the characteristics of an informal senate. Its importance may have been diminished by the influence of the institution of the captaincy. For the present-day Mbüá of eastern [114] [624] Paraguay the supreme civil authority of the senate is attested to by Father Müller, according to whom there falls to it even the proclamation of the cacique (capitão), with power more nominal than real, chosen preferably according to his physical qualities,

623 /100 cont./
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114 courage, generosity, talent for command and as orator, and re-
624 tained in the office so long as he does not displease the community (3).

3. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Müller, 1934-1935, p. 696.

622 There was, without any doubt, a principle of hereditary chieftaincy. Montoya writes: Ordinarily designated for the position of chief is that man who belongs to the family of some dead chief" (4).

4. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Montoya, 1879, p. 106.

Nimuendajú refers to the "legitimate" capitão, who inherited the office; the table of the Honório family, organized by this author, clearly shows the hereditary succession of the office of capitão in concomitance with the chieftaincy of the great-family (5).

5. /From p. 106 of the original source./
Nimuendajú, 1954, between pages 52 and 53.

622 There are, however, cases in which the civil chief is at the same
624 time religious chief and in which the prestige of the doctor-sorcerer
• 756 is the basis for the authority of the capitão, recognized and confirmed -- or not -- by the Government of the country.

624 Among the Kayová of Benjamim Constant, Capitão Alberto,
156 only civil chief, was able to keep the position as long as he could depend on his comrades' votes. He claimed he had been elected because his comrades "believed" (had confidence) in him, because he took care of order and discipline and, especially, for punishing with exemplary severity the bad sorcerers that he and his
624 /101/ village comrades believed to be in the group. -- Among
114 the Ñandéva of Jacareí I attended an informal session of the senate,
623 in which the capitão did not participate (perhaps accidentally) and which had been called to discuss with me problems of the economic relations of the community with white inhabitants of the vicinity.

/101 cont./

624 156 [577] In order to be considered competent, or in order to gain prestige among his subjects, the capitão should be energetic, have persuasive power over his comrades, not be given to drunkenness, speak the national idiom, and be skilled and astute in dealing with the Brazilian authorities. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard complaints against old Silvino Rufino, whose incapacity was attributed to the "lack of agreement" in the village: he was said not to have the energy or sufficient persuasive power to gather the men to maintain the village road. They accused him of excessive alcoholism, which gave the community a bad name. "Mburuvitxá naiporãi, the chief is no good because he drinks a great deal, and his wife too."

622 • 756 555 In the social structure there is no formal obstacle blocking the access of anyone to either the category of prayer-man or doctor-sorcerer. The status stems from the religious experience of the individual himself, and there is no limitation to the number of doctor-sorcerers. Strictly speaking, every chief of a great-family, or even of an elementary family, can become the doctor-sorcerer of his kindred, so long as he has the vocation for such. Nothing hinders a family from splitting in two, each with its ñanderú, which, incidentally, shows the close relation between the chieftaincy of the family group and the charismatic authority. There is almost no danger of any rivalry among the doctor-sorcerers of a village: the authority of each one goes beyond the ambit of the family group only to that extent that his prestige allows it. His power does not rest on a patent conferred by an official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, but on his religious knowledge, on his ability to foresee the future, in the exercise of practices that drive away misfortunes of the present and prevent those of the future. That is why Pedro Pires said to me: "Mbaekuaá is the prayer-man, for he knows everything."

624 648 177 The situation of the village capitão is quite different. The institution did not originate from within Guaraní culture; it was imposed from outside. Even so, however, nowadays important functions in the life of the group fall to him. The capitão

/102 cont./

624 orientation of the community. Although in latent conflict, the
622 two chieftaincies thus peacefully coexist in reality. The capitão
182 does not consider himself competent in matters of a religious nature,
and the ñanderú, in turn, in spite of his undoubtedly greater au-
thority, does not usually interfere in questions of internal or ex-
ternal politics of the group so long as they do not bear more or less
directly on the vital interests of the village. And if in these cases
the ñanderú takes any action, it is because, for the problems of
real importance, he cannot conceive of any solutions other than
622 those of a religious nature. For great misfortunes, great remedies.
648 At Panambi, Paí Chiquinho, in spite of the prestige that he enjoys,
182 does not take cognizance of the most agitated disputes and quarrels
• 756 that develop in the village or perhaps in his presence, but when
[578] he heard that, in obedience to a decision of the Ministério da
[554] Agricultura, the administration of the Colônia Federal de
Dourados /103/ decided to divide the lands of Panambi in order
to distribute them to families of immigrants, without heeding the
needs and the rights of the Kayová, he resolved to act -- always,
however, within the ambit of his competence. Seized by sacred
rage, he promoted religious dances with the intention of hastening the
end of the world, where, because of the white man's ill will and
incomprehension, the conditions of life were becoming unbearable.

624 In general, the capitão himself, no less inbued with the
156 Guaraní mentality than his subjects, has difficulty in giving to the
office that he occupies a meaning corresponding to the intention
with which it was created. At Palmeirinha I met a capitão who
[114] did not trouble himself about the fights that there were among the
people of his group, nor did he take measures against the exploita-
tions on the part of civilized individuals; on a certain winter
night, however, he deemed it necessary to suspend a dancing
celebration, "because it was very cold and people were getting
[115] tired for no purpose." -- Bento, capitão of Bananal, told me that
he considered it one of his duties as chief "to encourage the
people" whenever a dance was held in the village. It is therefore

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684 554 622 554 756 sometimes exploits his fellow villagers, forcing /105/ them to work in his clearing as punishment when they become intoxicated or caused some disorder. In the majority, the religious chiefs do not have a very well developed economic sense: I know only one Kayová who had enough skill and interest to draw material advantages from his position as charismatic chief, Paí José Bourbon Catalan of Amambai. But he, too, exploited his position of paí less than the profession of curer, which he practiced with exceptional efficiency, judging by the fame that attracted Indians, mestizos, and even white fazendeiros /owners of fazendas/ from distant places. He told me he charged up to sixty cruzeiros per [435] session, or, as we would say, consultation. It is customary, by [465] the way, among Indians, as among civilized persons, from [171] southern Mato Grosso and other regions to take some gift to the [184] curer or doctor-sorcerer in payment for his services. Among the Guaraní this pattern is not very widespread. /The notes for Ch. VII appear on pp. 105-106 in the original source./

/112 cont./

842 After some time she became pregnant. And twins were born.
159 They are Cândido Rondon and Nicolau Marcolino. They are
787 now three years old. "Since then I have believed what the
flanderú said. Before I did not pray. I did not 'abuse' it, but
sometimes I doubted. Now I do not doubt any more." Before
this Poýdjú, so he says, had no prayer, that is, he had not re-
ceived in a dream individual inspiration in this sense. He says
that he grew old without a prayer. Later he received two more
prayers. When I met him, he had three. Some people, as we
shall see, have more prayers. Poýdjú's wife, called Takuáporĩ,
[775] has four. On the occasion of my visits, Poýdjú's eldest son had
not yet been reborn, but he had already sent a prayer (the third
one) to his father in a dream. The other prayer (the second one)
was sent by the brother, Avákaudjú. The latter had not yet been
reborn either.

77 One might suspect the existence of a contradiction in the
787 informant's report: saying first that the children are sent by
842 Ñanderú and Ñanderykeý, then deceased persons are referred to
as bearers of "souls," respectively "prayers." But it is that the
deities do not always appear personally in the dream; some-
times they send the dead to bring the prayers to those who are
grieved here on earth. And another important fact is to be noted
in Poýdjú's explanation: there is, in a certain sense, a mystical
identification between the souls /113/ sent to earth in order to
be (re)incarnated and the prayers, porahẽi, which the individual
receives as gifts from the supernatural world and which he uses,
in any situation, in order to get in contact with the deities and
have religious consolation.

775 The doctrine of conception and reincarnation taught by
774 Fernando Tapari, religious chief of the Ñandéva village of
842 Jacareí, is summarized as follows: Ñandedjára ("Our Lord") can
• [756] send to the parents a child that has not yet lived in this world.
[622] It is on the occasion of the birth that the soul, ñeẽ ("speech"), is
conferred on him. In case of reincarnation, it is always the
[833] spirit of a dead child that is reborn by the same mother, the con-
ception taking place either at the time of death or later,
without need of sexual relations.

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[796] without need of sexual relations. And if the child is not re-
[787] incarnated immediately after the death, there is recourse to
[756] various djeroky (religious dances) being performed to this end,
[796] weeks or months later. After these ceremonies, the fiandeRú, "in a dream," goes to the celestial region of TupIÑy (Mother of God), who then gathers together all the children who are found with her. The choice is made by the criterion of the fiandeRú, who can bring the same one or another one, even of different sex.

[182] From the social point of view, the Ñandéva theory of reincarnation has an important function by guaranteeing the continuity between the past generations and the future ones (5).

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5. /From pp. 149-150 of the original source./ Although the comparative study of the Guaraní culture with those of other tribal populations is not included among the objectives of this essay, it is necessary to make an exception with regard to this point in order to cite a passage that shows the profound similarity of the Guaraní doctrine of reincarnation with the ideas of the Eskimo of Coronado Gulf: "The manner in which they talked to children seemed very enigmatic. Sometimes he (the explorer Vilhjalmur Stefánsson) would hear an Eskimo woman address her own child of male sex by the name "grandmother." On another occasion she called another woman's child "father." This is derived from a curious belief of this tribe. When a person (whether of the female or male sex) dies in the village, the soul of the deceased remains there nearby in the air for a while, without a body, and in hope of beginning life in a body again. Then, upon the birth of the first little child, it is immediately possessed by the soul that had lost its body through death. The baby receives the name,

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/114 cont./

77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
184 tavýterẽ --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera) are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paĩ Kuará, and come mainly from a region of the firmament, the yrukúýtétẽ, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yrukúýtétẽ; it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
[833] by Paĩ Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

774 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers,
•756 Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareĩ, and perhaps
115 one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted premptorily that man has only one soul, ñanéneẽ (guẽ), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

774 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
[171] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.
774 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
179 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
779 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

/116 cont./

774 828 755 early one morning (around four o'clock; he told me that this is the hour when the spirits usually come in contact with men), went to his house and "took away" the prayer from him. The next morning he already sharpened his hoe and went to work. In the process of "taking away" the bad prayer, the ñandecú is helped by the yvyrá'ídjá; the women strike the takuápú; the ñandecú only give the order to take the prayer away; then the spirits of the yvyrá'ídjá take the bad spirit and send it where it came from. -- The ayvú and the ayvúporã'vẽ send prayers too, but good ones. More will be said about the prayers later. Here, however, it is necessary to note the pure and simple identification of the "bad prayer" with the "bad spirit," the probable root of Poýdjú's conception. Also see note 5 /see p. 140/.

[756] [624]

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because it "has not committed a sin, it is innocent" (recourse to the Christian concept in order to explain a traditional ideal); the atsýyguá develops with the "sins," the "extravagance" practiced by the adults. Thus, there are atsýyguá more or less developed; those of the "disturbers of the peace" and "bullies" are the most dangerous ones after death, when they are transformed into anguéry. The atsýyguá of the individual, Sebastião insisted, is revealed by the fact that he resembles this or that animal, macaco, fox, snake, monkey /Port. bugio/, dog, cat, "ugly people," and so forth; "when he dies, he becomes exactly that, to wander over the ground." It is thus the anguéry that is sometimes heard crying out at night, far away, in a wailing voice. It is what disappears from the body when the latter has decomposed. It kills children and even adults. For that, it is sufficient to see it. It roams along the roads and other places at certain hours: more or less from eleven at night to one in the morning; then it returns to its place in the cemetery. Anguéry oguatá pytúmbyté

774 775 828 [825] 775

2: Schaden--159 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/124 cont./

782 The ñanderú is distinguished from the others principally
778 by the quantity of prayers of which he is the bearer or owner (14).
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• 756
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14. /From p. 151 of the original source./ There is an interesting analogy between the Guaraní ñanderú and the pazé of the Tenetehára. While the former is the more powerful the greater the number of prayers that he has at his disposal in order to put himself in contact with the supernatural world, the latter grows in importance and power with the number of evil spirits, carriers of sicknesses, which he is able to "call," in order to be possessed by them and then drive them away. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 109-110.

Each of them can have, as we have seen, greater or lesser "force," susceptible of being intensified or not, according to the attitudes of one's fellows and the behavior and precautions of the one who prays himself. In order for his cures to be effective -- "in order
[262] not to forget everything," in the words of the Indian Zizi of
[115] Bananal --, the ñanderú should nourish himself exclusively with
[755] "light" food and, above all, avoid the meat of game.

78 I have participated at various times in the prayers and dances
756 directed by ñanderú Miguel, who brought a group of Mbüá in a
622 long pilgrimage from Paraguay to Itariri, on the Atlantic Ocean.
123 During the poráí (name of the prayer in the Mbüá dialect), the religious chief seemed entirely transfigured and claimed to have a
[976] direct understanding with Ñanderú Tenondé, the supreme deity, who informed him of everything that would come to pass on earth. One night he interrupted the prayer and the tiring dance at a certain point in order to tell me that he just received information that on the following day the rains that had continued for some time would end.

2: Schaden--180 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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782 869 • 756 Prayers that are sung at collective ceremonies may be passed on by instruction. A ñanderú is created both by inspiration and by instruction: besides receiving so many prayers by the direct route, it is a good idea for him to take a course with a specialist. At Dourados Vicente Jerônimo (who was not a paí and did not even have an "altar" near his house), seized by a mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with them -- "instructing them," in the words of Marçal. He would appear with his "pupils," praying, at the oká (dancing ground) of Paí Tomás and next to the house of the curer Pascoal. At Amambai, Paí José taught his nephew, who called himself a very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."

756 785 [184] At least among the Kayová and Ñandéva the acquisition of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence in sexual life. Any Guaraní can become one who prays -- the ñanderú Fernando of Pôrto Lindo told me -- as long as he does not marry and is reserved: it is necessary, he explained, to have no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the supernatural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same holds for women who wish to become curers (ñandesy, "our mother"): they start to learn /125/ from the time they are children and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they are destined. Old Fernando told me: Ñanderú does not readily give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in order to be able to become ñanderú.

[869] [868] 756 159 [582]

He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married, claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little religious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession!), in order to take away everything reproachable in him, particularly the ideas

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2: Schaden--161 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/125 cont./

756 159 that he might have learned among the civilized. The candidate became religious and went on to devote himself to the practice of the porahéi. -- It is interesting to note that the fact that a sort of "conversion" was necessary clearly shows that there is consciousness of the conflict of ideals of life.

782 184 There are prayers for everything. The Ñandéva have them in order to get rain and in order to make the sun appear. The Kayová also have prayers against rain, against dryness, against the storm, to cure malubite and any sickness, to win women and other things too. They are prayers which any person may use at an opportune time, using mbaraká and kurusú. The cycle of prayers referring to the maize is especially highly developed among the Kayová: when the plants are ready to bear, a phase when there is the danger of their being attacked by the "besouro" /horn beetle, May bug/, which eats the roots; when the maize leaves become yellow (smut?); when one wants to speed up the ripening (a prayer dangerous for men, who should not go into a clearing "blessed" with it, as they might die); and so on. -- The texts of these collective prayers are in archaic language, quite different from the present one, but understandable to the knowledgeable ones (15).

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15. /From pp. 151-153 of the original source./ The same is true, by the way, about the chicha songs (guahú and guahúvaí). In the guahúvaí text there is sung, for example, Takuŕa pýtãva ñeŋŕũ: in modern Kayová one would say, "Takuŕá pýtãva ryvýi," which means: red ants /Port. cupins, tree-destroying ants/ ranged in a line.

782 132 828 A boy about eight years old, the son of my friend Vicente Jerônimo, Kayová of Dourados, dictated to me one of the prayers of his father, that is to say, one of those that his father knew and customarily sang. Since the Guaraní always respects another's personality, including that of children, Vicente did not interfere in the matter, although he became apprehensive upon seeing "his prayers" being put on paper. Nevertheless I was able to persuade him

2: Schaden--165 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 S344 Guarani S344

/128 cont./

754 157 the fear of being the victim of practices of this order is a daily preoccupation of every Guaraní. Some present-day groups reach in this sense, at certain times, a state of profound collective exasperation in which everybody believes himself threatened by everybody, a situation which is explained in large part by the acculturative crisis, and in particular, by the state of "deprivation" and misery, as well as by the deplorable conditions of health in which they live.

754 771 The practices of black magic among the Guaraní are looked upon as rational techniques with views toward a certain goal, not having in them anything mystical or supernatural, except regarding the origin of certain powers. And it should not [171] be forgotten that these Indians in general are distinguished from their neighbors -- the Kaingáng /Caingang/, the Terêna, etc. -- precisely by their extraordinary mysticism. The simple explanation given by Capitão Alberto, Kayová chief of Amambaí, whom he remembered people -- he was certainly referring to civilized people -- who did not believe in black magic, seems to me elucidative in this respect. He argued the opposite, maintaining that there is sorcery against everything: thus, against birds, the clay pellet; against the macaco, quati /Procyonidae/, and other animals, the arrow; against the armadillo, the trap. Thus an explanation of frankly naturalist and technicist stamp.

754 756 In general, the doctor-sorcerer -- consciously or unconsciously -- tends to stimulate ideas and preoccupations concerning black magic within the group. If for no other reason it might be, for example, in order to find and to present satisfactory reasons that explain the lack of results from his methods of cure. José Bourbon Catalan, famous curer of Amambaí, told me that his patients die only when they are struck by sorcery: in such a case it would be [115] necessary to catch the sorcerer in order to undo the sorcery, a [761] measure to be taken, not by him, but by the capitão of the village. [624]

2t Schaden--188 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1982 S344 Guarani S344

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XII. Paí Vitaliano, one of the religious chiefs of the village of Dourados, with ceremonial clothing and implements.

2: Schaden--172 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh64 Guarani Sh64

761 /131 cont./
753 not the will of God, neither doctor nor curer can turn it
23 around." /132/ Highly illuminating words, as they make it
159 very clear that what predominates is not the magical attitude,
75 but the religious one. In the treatment of the sick, the efficiency of the magical and medicinal resources is only conditional -- which divests magic of one of its essential characteristics, namely, natural causality. When the late doctor-sorcerer Arnaldo -- I was told -- saw that a sick child "had a cure," he gave it a remedy and it became healthy. But when he saw that nothing could be done, he said so at once: he ordered herb tea to be prepared, but he did not have any hope. Fiat voluntas tua /Thy will be done/.

• 756 It is seen, therefore, that the power of the doctor-sorcerer
761 is subject to considerable limitation, stemming from divine will. Were it not for this, he himself would not get sick and would not die. On the contrary, the Nandéva says, his supernatural faculties can easily become his misfortune, because to be the bearer of extraordinary magical powers and knowledge is a dangerous state. If the doctor-sorcerer to whom the auxiliary spirit communicated the prayer or magico-medicinal song does not live in accordance with the prescriptions tied to them, he himself becomes the cause of his death. It happens that he dies only two or three months after the descent of the protector spirit, "because the religion of the Indians is very strong and also very fine," according to the words of João Samuel. This is why Arnaldo died. And, if I rightly understood the explanations of old Pedro Pires, there is even a transitory death of the doctor-sorcerer who is not yet capable of using his powers and his knowledge properly and of living according to the demands stemming from them. "The one who prays has to die when he sees." But he comes back to life again, which happens in a [821] thunderstorm. -- Would that not be temporary death, a constant theme of the lunar mythology of the whole world, a death that in the tribal myths also often strikes the less clever one of the twins? However that may be, the possibility of the individual

/130 cont./

761 being guilty for his own death is admitted, from which, on the
• 758 other hand, we cannot draw the hasty conclusion that the death
of the doctor-sorcerer is due to moral culpability and that, con-
sequently, it is a question of punishment or a penalty comparable,
let us say, to the loss of immortality in Paradise because
of sin. For it is indeed quite possible and, in my view, prob-
able that nothing more than a simple natural relation of cause
and effect is established in the mind of the Gaonaf.

761 Death, it is convenient to say here, did not come into
828 the world because the sorcerer became guilty for one reason
or another. It is God in the very nature of human existence,
in the destiny of man. Nevertheless it does not fail to consti-
tute a problem for the /130/ intelligence of the Gaonaf. The
mythology, it is quite true, solves it easily by means of the
efficacious formula of the mythical precedent, experienced a
thousand times. Death is a fact, an occurrence that is opposed
as a simple episode in the existence of each one of us and
which, like everything else that develops in static fashion, is
"explained" by means of the determination of the point of de-
parture. "Hashem nasnah" (God is the one who gave the origin,
that is, his death is the origin of our death. Pal Chiquisha,
the doctor-sorcerer of the Kayseri «Kingo of Proverbs, assured
me, "Hashem hathaqatsy natah mit." "the intervention of God
is what gave the origin," that is, his death is the origin of our
death." God arose for the purpose of dying. — Great perspicac-
[11] ity is not needed in order to discover that in these phrases there
[749] is something of the teachings given by the Jewish fathers in the
seventeenth century. But the doctrine of the death of Christ has
become pagan: it has undergone a misinterpretation, in order to
be adapted to the Gaonaf conception of the world.

The Gaonaf has an ambivalent attitude toward death, the
control which are in the experience of the tribal religion. On the
one hand, of course, we have the instinctive and very human fear
of death, superstition, among other things, for the existence of
special prayers to ward off the danger of approaching death.

/135 cont./

General subgroups, but also among the Kaingáng /Caingang/ of the Rio Grande do Sul). The burial takes place on the day immediately after the death. It falling to the Kanhgág to plant the cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to the grave for several days, to the sounds of the xóxrikĩ and the takuapé. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion of the death of children.

The Kanhgáve of Xavante, perhaps the most acculturated ones, take their dead to the public cemeteries of Paraíba and Rubiácea: they bury them in a box made out of boards covered with cloth, and above the grave they set a cross; on the other hand, the dead person is lowered into the grave with the "devotion" (Xavante, religious movement) on the body, an indication (even if there were no other) that these acculturative phenomena do not correspond to the radical religious transformation that they would seem to reveal at first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact that they transport their dead companion a distance of many leagues goes along very well with the law of the angáhy that the General have.

In the south of Mato Grosso the Kanhgáve sometimes having had among them the interment inside the dwelling: they abandoned the house, without burning it, and went to live at some distance away; today such a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Xavante, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they made graves inside the houses; but even today many abandon or burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adult or child, has died. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta, one of my informants (Xeiba) left his house, building another one at some distance, because in the old one "many children died"; perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house harbors serious aborsaves.

In general, a General Xavante follows in part traditional usages, in part more or less Christian customs coming from the neighboring populations with whom the Indians come in contact.

In Schaden--307 B-4.6 (1948-1954) 1962 5324 Guarani 5344

/183 cont./ Under the direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820, started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later, they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day Mandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate surroundings of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

Even all this seems highly significant problems, which were the point of departure for the present work. To what end would the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought? In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone? -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements continue, at least among the Mbyá. I have the impression, by the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to seek it in the south.

In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

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772 771 The denominations yvý-maré-ỹ ("land without evil") or simply yvý (sky /Port. céu, sky, heaven, firmament/) are likewise heard among the Nandéva, having been recorded by me in the village of Itariri and in P. L. Francisco Horta, in southern Mato Grosso. Among Paraguayan Guaraní the name Mbaéveríguasú occurs.

771 772 18 /185/ A fundamental character of the conception of Paradise in each one of the three groups into which the tribe is divided is that it is a manner of a place of safety, whose inhabitants are free, above all, from sickness and death. Yet they do not have to fear hunger, misery, and economic poverty either. But this does not necessarily correspond to the absence of work in order to obtain the means of subsistence. Thus the Mbyá of Xapecó, arriving in Paradise, expect to receive from their civilizer hero good lands for tillage, a sign that they have not yet begun to classify work as suffering. On the other hand, most of the Nandéva, whose culture exhibits phenomena of generally more profound disintegration, and who, among other things, seem to have lost their primitive notion of work without having satisfactorily replaced it by the patterns that would correspond to it in the civilized world, almost all dream of a "dolce far niente" as an essential part of paradisiacal happiness.

771 772 [95] [178] [204] The success of the community that wants to enter the Land without Evil depends on both the spiritual endowment and conduct of the doctor-sorcerer and the fervor of his believers. If formerly the political direction of the Guaraní community was always in the hands of the priest charged with leading the believers to the Atlantic coast and from there to the Beyond, nowadays the power of the capitão or civil chief grows in the measure that they abandon the attempts to reach the Promised Land.

[128] Because of the diversity of historical situations through which the three subgroups of the tribe have passed, it seems preferable to study each one of them separately with regard to the myth of Paradise.

/171 cont./

771 178 On general lines one observes among the Mbüá that the religious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural [182] disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected because of the simple fact of always being very near to departure. 771 772 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land never ending"; ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer, [156] Ketxuña or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beautiful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey there. They will be received by Korá Rõhẽ Pyguá, the porter of Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuña. The latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there, no death. And there they will find alive their deceased companions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that [177] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero [197] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the remembrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from Paraguay in 1767.

772 167 181 [184] Thus, unlike the Ñanderéva, whose migrations were made many decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at present as an objective in the life of the Mbüá. Those that arrived at the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they believe, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But their day will come.

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771 624 756 What is certain is that the frustration has not yet shaken their faith, and that is why the confidence that they place in the religious chief also continues to be strong. The second authority, the civil chief or capitão, has /172/ an active voice among the Mbüá only on subjects of secondary importance, particularly in what is said with respect to dealings with the civilized inhabitants. The Nandesú does not take cognizances of these matters; burdens of greater responsibility rest on his shoulders.

771 772 178 Among the factors making the myth of Paradise continue to be so alive in the spirit of the Mbüá is the outstanding fact of their having clung, in spite of frequent contacts with the civilized world, to the usages and customs of the ancestors and of not yet counting in their midst mestizo individuals. And these conditions for their part explain a decisive factor: that the different groups still constitute closed communities of worship, in which the quite superficial influence of the Christianity experienced in recent years has not succeeded in undermining, for the present, the constant realization of the conjunction of ceremonies bound up with the myth.

3. The Kayová

127 167 [178] From the existing bibliographic sources it is understood that formerly, that is, several decades ago, the Kayová also undertook migrations in the direction of the Atlantic coast. There are no indications in this respect for recent times.

771 772 648 183 [796] Although the representation of Paradise is always present as an aspiration or dream in the religious life of the Kayová, virtually at least, its importance increases considerably in crisis situations. This was verified a few years ago at least in the Mato Grosso village of Panambi, in the region of Dourados, when the Government had the lands of the Indians distributed among civilized colonists. As this project was being executed, the primitive conditions of life of the Indians began to be jeopardized and in part were even destroyed. Thus, the myth was activated, and the Indians started to perform religious dances with the objective of hastening the

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/174 cont./
the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example, where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hopefully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be transformed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion, the primitive aspiration, aguydjé, which includes the desire to escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then, it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

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The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized population of the region has taken place in a quite different direction. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phenomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of excessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known, yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, however, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and fights.

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77 182 177 178 [557] It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaraní finds the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaraní conception of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

77 182 By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

[177] In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of the whole tribal religion; secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely, the fear of the imminent destruction of the world; and, thirdly, the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural contacts. [184] One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing considerable changes.

77 177 178 182 [621] The consequences of the frustration in connection with the situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with this, [756] [624] the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, originally exclusive, is influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from his conservativism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

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to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively, which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5. Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10),

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great effort is needed to see that the tendency toward alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

The attitude of the Indians regarding drunkenness is interesting. Some, generally the ones most caboclolzed, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Face painting for women and children is indicated for the aboriginal Cayuá, with the use of both the red *urucú'* (*Bixa orellana*) and the dark *genipá* (*Genipa americana*) dyes. Judging from the present, only the women were expected to engage in smoking for pleasure, and the pipe was the common means by which tobacco was used by them. Some special use of tobacco as an intoxicant is likely for the shaman or *paʼí*. Pipes were molded of clay or carved of hard wood, sometimes the root of the *araçá* bush (tentatively identified with the *guava* or *goiaba*).

The aboriginal Cayuá had mouth blown flutes of bamboo. Stamping tubes[83] made of a large section of *taquara* (bamboo), of which the node of the lower end was left unperforated, were used by the women in group ceremonials. When the end was thumped on the ground, the *takuapá*, as it is called, emitted a dull resonating sound. The gourd rattle or *mbarakâ* was used by the men, and this instrument was important in connection with the religious and curing ceremonies. The *takuapá* and *mbarakâ* were probably kept in a sort of rack like an umbrella stand in a special place when they were not in use.

The musical bow in one form or another appears old in the area, although it would perhaps be impossible now to say if the miniature bow is aboriginal. (Musical bows do not seem to be indigenous to the South American tropical forest.) This is held in the mouth and stroked by another tiny bow strung inside of the first.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The basic social unit of the Cayuá was formerly the extended family, headed by an old man. Patrilocality is putatively indicated, though matrilocality was probably at least temporary. Marital locality was in any case tempered by the marriage of girls with the mother's brother. Descent seems to most investigators and to the present writer to have been patrilineal.[84]

The extended family was closely related to other aspects of Cayuá culture, notably to the kinship system, to economic organization, and to aboriginal architecture and the typical dwelling unit, the *tapâi*. The *tapâi*, a large structure, was the dwelling unit of the extended family. Here there was ample space for housing the several small families which comprised the larger unit. In fact, a structure of such a size and arrangement—a sort of "longhouse"—could not well have been adapted to any other size of group and organization of occupants. The small elementary families were distributed along the length of the dwelling, each stringing its hammocks, building its fire, and storing its equipment in its own section. Sections, however, were not parti-

[83] Cf. Izikowitz, 1935, pp. 131 ff.

[84] Cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1946. One of the co-authors of this article, Galvão, worked with the writer among the Cayuá. His conclusions, both privately expressed and those published in the above article, accord in many respects with those of the writer, as far as social organization of the Cayuá is concerned. Cf. also Watson, V. D., 1944.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Whatever the aboriginal political situation, the shaman or *ɸaᵑí* was often a man of considerable worldly as well as spiritual authority. The *de jure* secular powers may have been commonly combined in the person of this official; or it may be that this exercise of secular power was forced upon the Guarani and Cayuá shamans to an abnormal degree by the white advent. As spiritual leaders, shamans would obviously be indicated to head up resistance —which took secular forms—to the religious precepts the European missionaries were trying to inculcate. The shamans (*ɸaᵑí*) were among the most adamant in fostering rebellion in those dubiously won over to the missionaries of Roman Catholicism. It is well to recognize, therefore, the good probability of a bias in some of the European accounts which might tend to neglect possible Guarani and Cayuá secular officers in favor of an emphasis of the secular powers of the shamans. To the missionaries, shamans would have appeared all too influential in their resistance to proselytism.

WARFARE

There is practically no information regarding the warfare of the Cayuá. When we first begin to hear specifically about them, they have already assumed the role of eluders[71]—as far as the Europeans, at least, are concerned. One may suspect, however, that such pusilanimity has not always been their nature, largely on the basis of accounts of other closely related Tupi-Guarani. The Chiriguano, apparently closely akin and who came from a homeland very near to the traditional homeland of the Cayuá, were certainly warlike as they invaded the eastern frontiers of the Inca Empire in the early 16th century; in fact, they seem to have done well from a military standpoint against the men of the Inca. The war-cannibalism complex of the coastal Tupi groups is well known, and any tribe which shared in this general cultural background might well be fairly warlike also. The Cayuá may have been cannibalistic at least as late as the period of Jesuit missionization. Others among their close neighbors and linguistico-cultural relatives were cannibals. We might expect to discover the same for the Cayuá, but the actual documentary evidence is lacking.

By the time there is any mention at all of the Cayuá, beyond a few indefinite words, the Guaicuruan-speaking peoples to the west of them, notably the Mbayá-Caduveo, were already in possession of horses and had crossed the Paraguay River from the Chaco to the Mato Grosso side (latter half of the 17th century). When Rengger contacted the Cayuá in the first part of the 19th century, he found them well acquainted with the depredations of the Mbayá and very fearful of these people. Rengger was told that there simply was no recourse for the Cayuá but to seek to avoid war with the Mbayá by concealment; the Mbayá shamans were altogether too powerful, and nothing would

[71] This adjective of Radin's (1942) certainly appears to be a *mot juste*.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

with much decoration of feathers. This the missionaries said was used idolatrously.[77] Such practices may also have been characteristic of the Cayuá. A cult of the dead is suggested among some Tupi-Guarani peoples.

The present Cayuá use of groups of what appear to be Christian crosses may be but a slightly Christianized modification of a similar aboriginal usage. Métraux speaks (Tupinambá) of "small posts sometimes provided with a cross bar from which painted images were suspended."[78] The Cayuá were similar to other Tupi-Guarani also in their magico-religious connotations for the gourd rattle or *mbarakâ*. This instrument was apparently always used in ceremonies and employed by the shaman (*pa'i*) in curing rituals. It was conceived of as having a spirit within, whose "voice" was the sound of the rattle itself. The spirit-possessed rattle may have been only that one which had been consecrated by the *pa'i*. Ceremonial rattles were accorded a special place in a sort of rack made for them and kept in the *tapâi* of the *pa'i*. (Perhaps each extended family had at least one shaman?) Since the Cayuá also had female shamans, it is likely that the *mbarakâ* was sometimes used by these women, but otherwise the instrument was restricted to male use. On a basis of comparison and reconstruction, ritual observances of the aboriginal Cayuá differed from those of the present primarily in being somewhat more elaborate.

The Cayuá, like other Tupi-Guarani, had the story of the twin culture heroes. The culture heroes and the various celestial beings, as recounted in the almost universally similar myths about them, were the makers of many of the conditions of the world, and they also gave some of the most important inventions, such as agriculture, to the people. But the culture heroes and their relatives of the Cayuá pantheon, sun, moon, thunder, and the like, were a rather distant order of beings who intervened little in current human affairs compared to the supernaturals who lived in the forest, the water, and the *taquara* groves. The interest and activity of the sky-gods in men's lives were largely matters of the remote past. As far as the Cayuá are concerned, one of the probable influences of Christianity was to center attention on these celestial and usually distant beings. Thus it may be that the first fruits ceremony in which the new crops are "baptized" was not aboriginally dedicated to any of the sky pantheon of *Ñandejára*[79] as at present. Certain seeds and also the first fruits were ceremonially treated by the Cayuá, however, as they are now.

SHAMANISM

Shamans (*pa'i*) have already been mentioned in connection with political organization, and at least certain of them did have considerable power in the

[77] Hernández, 1913, 1: 80–81; Dobrizhoffer, 1822, 2: 284.

[78] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 34.

[79] Literally, "Our Lord," apparently a missionary inculcated concept, at least in its present sense. Among the Cayuá it is also a generic term for the entire pantheon of celestial supernaturals. It seems to be ambiguous to at least some Cayuá, being at the same time singular and collective.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

secular realm. With regard to their spiritual powers they seem to have varied considerably from individual to individual. Female shamans existed, but their powers were usually less than those of the leading male shamans. A knowledge of medicines, magic, and witchcraft was not the exclusive possession of anyone, and, indeed, men especially acquired more of such knowledge, as a rule, as they grew older. But this was not the same as being a recognized *pa'i*, a regular office whose duties included rain-making, divination, curing, and ceremonial leadership in extended family or group-wide ceremonies. Cayuá *pa'i*, judging largely from comparative and contemporary evidence, had familiar spirits at their service who guided them in indicating those guilty of witchcraft, in prescribing cures, and in predicting the future. Upon the results of his work the *pa'i* was judged and rated as a *pa'i guasú* ("great shaman") or as a less powerful practitioner. The *pa'i* was certainly a force in the community, and even if the secular leadership were not manifestly combined with the spiritual, it is doubtful whether a secular leader could often seriously oppose the word of a *pa'i guasú*. The fame of a "great shaman" even transcended the limits of his own community, and he was consulted by members of neighboring groups in particularly difficult matters or those in which, perhaps for political reasons, the local shaman demurred. The information about the Tupinambá,[39] as well as the accounts of the Jesuits concerning the Guarani, both indicate the existence of especially powerful *pa'i* whose names were widely known. Such men could count upon being respectfully received in villages many miles distant to which they might choose to travel. These more powerful shamans were often of particular annoyance to the priests of Rome, and for the Guarani there exist suggestions of abortive nativistic movements inspired by them.

The *pa'i* were held to have power in their breath and could infuse this virtue into other persons or into objects by breathing upon them. This was probably true of the Cayuá shamans as well. In other Tupi-Guarani groups tobacco was used for stimulating spiritual contact and making the breath still more powerful (with the smoke). It is not certain that the same was true of the *pa'i* of the Cayuá, but the presumption is strongly affirmative. It was probably the *pa'i* who led the first fruits ceremonies and those for consecration of the seeds. Although a large number of plant remedies seem to have been generally known by all, at least one difference between the ordinary person and the shaman in this regard is that the *pa'i* was often the only one able to diagnose a given case of sickness. Thus he alone was able to know exactly which certain remedy was indicated. Particularly when the affliction was one instigated by witchcraft were the special talents of the *pa'i* indispensable and the limited ordinary herbal lore of the layman relatively hopeless.

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[39] Métraux, "The Tupinambá," p. 36.

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Apparently the *pa'i* were closely bound up with the revivalistic tendencies of various Tupi-Guarani cultures, and especially with their messianic aspects. The movements noted among the Tupinambá are similar in many ways to those subsequently denoted "revivalistic movements" in North America; and the coastal Tupi impulses were even more like the later movements among the southern Tupi-Guarani. It is not known whether any such movements occurred in history of the Cayuá prior to the 19th century. In the Jesuit accounts there are hints of what may have been incipient phases of such movements among the Guarani, but presumably the drastic repressive action of the priests scotched them before they had a chance to spread far. Powerful shamans and their predictions (and maledictions against the Catholics) appear always to have been central in these affairs. The close similarity of the 19th century movements of the Cayuá and the Apapocuva-Guarani to those of other Tupi-Guarani, even though remote in space or time, probably justifies us in treating the matter as evidence of a more or less constant potential of these related cultures. Properly stimulated, this potential produced surprisingly like results in various places and at various times. At base, the movements seemed to depend upon the prophetic statements of powerful shamans: in view of impending great changes in their present situation, a new mode of behavior was in order, a change of their way of life (though the change might be backward-looking), to prepare themselves for the great day. Thus occurred in the histories of a number of these peoples large-scale migrations in search of "the land of no evil." Little as is known of them, the Cayuá movements are generally similar to the somewhat better documented impulses of other groups. It is possible that the Cayuá, because of their belated direct contact with Europeans and their longer avoidance of such contacts, had less reason for the development of messianic cults.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

tions of the two groups. In their migration, the Cayuá, as well as the Apapocuva, reaffirmed their affinity with Tupi-Guarani cultures in general; for as Métraux has argued, the cultures of these peoples are somewhat disposed toward religious movements of messianic character, and the migration from southern Brazil is therefore by no means unique.[183]

We do not know whether all groups of Cayuá (and "Guarani") participated to some extent in the movement or not. Whether the groups found today in the traditional habitat of the Cayuá were uniformly non-participants or were merely involved to a lesser extent are questions to which the answers are likewise unknown. Such details might be most significant in bringing out further the character of the movement, its messianic aspects and the role of the shamans. Certainly not all groups were equally fervent in their resolution to carry on in spite of difficulties and obstacles. The main idea seems to have been that the everyday work of the people would no longer be necessary in life, as soon as the spiritual aims, particularly the finding of "the land of no evil," were accomplished. Regular economic pursuits were to be abandoned, therefore, and the people were to prepare themselves spiritually for what was prophesied to come. Dancing ceremonies were a prominent part of the spiritual preparation, and certain groups, although probably not all—not even from the start, set out across country to find the promised land. This place was identified as being near the Atlantic Ocean, or somehow connected with it. Some groups, however, either turned back as a unit or lost a part of their cohorts as soon as they encountered the initial obstacles. Doubt and dissension as to whether to continue seem to have arisen at various times in their travels, and practically all groups finally abandoned their objective before ever reaching the ocean. An important factor in the strength of conviction of different groups was probably the prestige of their respective shaman leaders, and the extent to which the shamans themselves believed in their prophesies and trusted their interpretations of supernatural portents.

The resistance of Brazilian settlers in the territories through which the pilgrims must pass was apparently very important in deflecting them from their purpose. This contact is important in Cayuá acculturation for it was the most intense and direct meeting of Cayuá with Europeans up to that date. While doubtless some groups were affected by contact much more than others, there was at least a residual effect on groups who may not have migrated at all or who may not have arrived in such proximity to the settlers as the most advanced migrants. There is no indication that the Cayuá were themselves generally aggressive in their relations with the Neo-Brazilian population, and, indeed, it would be very surprising if such were the case. Some of the relations were nevertheless marked by hostility and disadvantage to the Indians.[184]

In retrospect, the record of this most significant chapter in the history of

[183] Métraux, 1927, *passim*. [184] Cf. Watson, J. B., 1945, pp. 12-13.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

somewhat by the fact that many of the local Brazilians live in a manner not markedly different, in the missionary view, from that of the present Cayuá. (This is not true of a majority.) The direct influence of the mission here, like that of the SPI post itself, is concentrated in the one local Cayuá group and scarcely filters beyond, except by verbal account. Much of the nominal adherence of some of the local Indians to the mission seems to be based on its material advantages. The use of sewing machines, gifts of food and clothing, and suggestions concerning remedies, health, and particulars of domestic art are the reward of those who attend the prayer meetings and informal services, and who in general associate themselves with the mission.[115] Summing up the mission influence in the South to date, it could certainly not yet be called profound, even among the Cayuá where the mission is located, and it is largely absent elsewhere.

The *Inspetoria do* SPI which administers the Indian affairs of the Cayuá area is located at Campo Grande and was one of the first, if not the first, to be established. The local post which has jurisdiction over the village of Taquapiri, the particular group from which materials central to this monograph were secured, was established rather recently, about 1930. This post, "Benjamin Constant"—SPI posts are generally named for famous men of Brazil, is some twenty miles distant from Taquapiri over a two-rut oxcart road, also passable in the dry season and with difficulty by motor trucks.[116]

The children of Taquapiri do not go to school and very likely do not even know what school is, though some of their cousins twenty miles away at the post are at least aware of schools.[117] The Cayuá of Taquapiri may be visited by the *encarregado* as few as two or three times a year.[118] Such visits entail

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[115] There may, however, be some interest of a spiritual sort as well. A group of Cayuá men from our village, including a shaman in training, made the twenty-five mile trip with us to the post one time on foot, partly to visit the missionary, to hear her play her accordion and sing hymns with Guarani words. There was, probably, as much musical interest—unusual songs with Guarani words—as spiritual interest.

[116] Motor trucks pass by Taquapiri once or twice a week during the dry season, or less often, on their way to Nhu Verá. Taquapiri is a good half-mile from the road, and the Indians know the trucks principally only by sight and sound—they are simply of another world. When as many as two trucks a day go by—as happened once or twice during our stay, it is stated by the local settlers that something unusual must be afoot. There are no public garages or fuelling places, that the writer knows of, in the entire region because there are not enough motor vehicles to require it. Gasoline is simply carried along by the trucks themselves or may occasionally be bought in cans in some of the larger towns.

[117] The Cayuá children are not greatly different from many local Brazilian children in this ignorance of schools, however, for probably a majority of the latter will grow up and die with no formal schooling. There is no school of any sort for the settlers in the region about Taquapiri and only a poor elementary one at União itself, the nearest "center," but too far to travel for schooling.

[118] There was no occasion to observe this frequency. We were merely told by the *encarregado* that he made it a point to visit Taquapiri every few months. He came twice during our entire five month stay, one time being when he accompanied us to visit Taquapiri initially.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

Jesuit writings and, indeed, some of the earliest chronicles we have create the impression of a central political figure of some prominence among the indigenes. The prominence of this political officer, whom the whites usually called *capitão* or *cacique*, may well have been limited at first largely to dealings with Europeans—at least among Tupi-Guarani peoples.[179] It was naturally more convenient for the whites to deal directly with a single individual in authority. As contacts with whites began to bulk larger in the lives of the Indians, centralization of authority in external relations probably became stronger and more important—even extending to internal matters of the indigenous group.

The SPI came into being very late in the process, 1910. Apparently they largely took over pre-existing white political usages concerning relations with the Cayuá. At any rate, the nomination (or at least approval) of a *capitão* and his adjutant *sargento* (both of these terms occur in the earlier literature), seems now to be a standard practice of the SPI as far as the Cayuá are concerned.

It is not clear just what was the political influence of the fact (I. a.) that the Cayuá were increasingly and finally guaranteed freedom from fear of hostile attack. There is little doubt that the political officer(s) of the aboriginal Cayuá must have been concerned at least somewhat with war. The lessened importance of war activity may, in theory, have produced a tendency toward a less centralized and weaker political authority. But any such tendency was offset in another direction by the necessity of dealing with the whites, and ultimately with the SPI. What resulted, therefore, was not really a question of a less or more centralized polity than aboriginally but a polity in which authority came to be of a different quality. Political authority came to be exercised less and less in matters of war, and finally not at all—as at present. The new political province included relations with whites and, in general, concerned the disposition to be made of questions of external relations. Such a change in administrative function presumably made the political office(s) quite different from the aboriginal prototypes and may also have resulted in a different quality of personnel. (Differences of degree of individual acculturation along age-grade lines might, for example, bring young men to the fore, if they could speak the European tongue, in order to better treat with the whites.)

The suggestion is occasionally encountered in the literature that shamans (*pajé*) were sometimes men of considerable civil authority. Assuming that immediate direction of war activities was not aboriginally within the province of the shaman, the lessening importance of war activities might leave shamans more than ever in control of the field of political operations. At the same time, as we have suggested, the field of political operations probably became more important and its administration more centralized. All of this, of course, is well within the realm of speculation, but it does seem attractive as a possibil-

[179] *Vid.* Kirchhoff, 1931, pp. 216 *et passim*. "Nowhere (in non-Andean South America) do real tribal chieftains appear to exist; in war, allied settlements choose a war chieftain."

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

ity, especially in the light of unescapable early references to powerful shamans who appear to have been responsible frequently for deciding civil matters. 177*

Related to the change in aboriginal polity is (II. B. e.) the disappearance of the extended family household and its replacement by the elementary family household. There is little doubt that household headmen existed, and these among themselves may also have exercised authority over the affairs of the local group as a whole. In the extended family system the household chiefs were probably individuals who had assumed their positions by virtue of kinship, marital ties, and age. Some of the chiefs may also have been shamans (*pa'i*). The village chief, if one existed, was likely only a somewhat more influential household chief, although there was regularly no great political power or centralization of control associated with the office. Households or extended families appear to have had much autonomy. 182 156 • 622

With (II. B. e.) the breakup of the extended family, the opportunity for the household chiefs directly to exercise power largely withered away. Only the single formal office of the *capitão* of the village as a whole remained (or later came into being?) as a point of specific authority.[180] The reality of the *capitão* as a source of authority was aided, as we have seen, by the attitude of the whites.

What of the old extended family polity? The composition of the present-day factions is suggestive on this point. It is likely that these factions are derived from the former extended families; the faction leaders are individuals who presumably would formerly have been household headmen. At present, faction leaders are usually senior members of the various localized kin nuclei (see p. 85) of the village. Under the modern unitary system of political authority, of course, all but one faction leader must be "out of office" at a given time. 177* 182 621 622

The *capitão* himself may sometimes be no regular faction leader because other factors, such as the SPI, enter into his nomination. Moreover, no formal means to exercise authority are now available to the several faction leaders who are not in the position of *capitão*. However, the agreements and disagreements, the informal maneuvering and manipulation of these factions today can hardly be discounted in any complete political description of the Cayuá community at Taquapiri. The loss of the extended family and the formal authority of its headman, together with the consolidation of authority in the *capitão*, reflect the new, but the older pattern continues in attenuated form in the factions and their central personalities. 657

[180] Not to lose a sense of proportion, it must be emphasized that the present office of *capitão* is by no means a very formal, active, strong, or inclusive authority. The Cayuá local group is too small and intimate for that. In some respects the average *capitão*, judging mainly from Taquapiri, is no more than the new *pajuá*.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date] 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

or covered with a basketry sheath in the center. A small bulge at each end made of wrapped bark strips prevents the fiber bowstring from slipping. Archers wear wrist guards of human hair or of cotton (*Chiripá*). The main types of arrowheads found in the tropical area are used by the *Caingud:* Lanceolate taquara heads; tapering sticks, plain or barbed on one or both sides; and conical wooden plugs for stunning birds.

The war arrows of the ancient *Guaraní* were often tipped with human bones.

The arrow shafts are made either of the native tacuarí reed (*Merostachys angyroneura*) or more commonly of the imported tacuapí, or caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*).

The feathering is of the Eastern Brazilian, or arched type. The pellet-bow is widely used by young *Caingud* boys to shoot birds or small rodents.[9] The missiles are small clay pellets.

Caingud clubs are either swordlike with cutting edges or plain sticks with a square cross section and a basketry sheath around the handle. Sometimes they taper into a point. The *Guaraní* were acquainted with the sling but found little use for it in their forested habitat.

The *Guaraní* warriors whom the Spaniards fought in the 16th century carried shields, often decorated with feathers. This defensive weapon has not been reported since the 17th century.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, the social unit was probably the large extended patrilineal family—perhaps the sib. Sometimes as many as 60 families lived under the same roof. Each community had a chief, but the actual power was often in the hands of a shaman. Many of the great *Guaraní* leaders who resisted the Spaniards in the 17th century were shamans endowed with divine prestige. Some ancient chiefs extended their influence over a fairly wide area. A general council of chiefs and adult men decided community and district affairs and elected war chiefs who commanded obedience during expeditions.

All *Apapocuva-Guaraní* chiefs, for at least a hundred years, have been shamans who have reached the highest rank within their profession. Like the ancient chiefs, they have been credited with supernatural power and with miracles performed on behalf of their people.

A *Guaraní* chief was succeeded by his eldest son unless there was some stronger member of the family. However, an eloquent man distinguished in warfare might become chief. Persons dissatisfied with their headman might secede and start a new settlement under another leader. Chiefs of *Caingud* communities in Paraguay have a Spanish title and carry a stick as symbol of their office. Fifty years ago, a few villages were administered as in Jesuit times, by a cacique mayor and cacique menor, a sargento, and

[9] For a good description of the Guaraní pellet-bow, see Ambrosetti, 1894, p. 482.

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 S344 Guarani S344

178 632 621 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.

The members of the ancient *Guarani* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 -756 695 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Cainguá* communities that there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

684 692 576 574 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guarani*, when a guest entered a hut, he was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

543 846 842 715 766 799 851 177 178 551 77 559 851 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, refraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva* believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his supernatural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine namesake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 322-323).

981 [274] [412] [237] [293] [195] **Boys' initiation.**—A *Cainguá* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat unattentional with beer, a specialist performs each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death. For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After their initiation they drop the infantile "e, e" (yes) for the adult masculine "he."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 Ehkê Guarani Ehkê

Girls' puberty.—Among ancient *Guaraní*, at her first menstruation, a girl was sewn in her hammock and remained there for 2 or 3 days. Her hair was cut short and, until it grew to its former length, she had to forego meat and to work hard under the supervision of an older woman. For modern *Cainguá* also, coming of age is a critical period which calls for many ritual observances; the girl is secluded for 3 weeks behind a screen in a corner of the house and eats only a few foods, which must be lukewarm. She must not talk, laugh, lift her eyes from the ground, scratch herself, or blow on the fire. She must also learn to abstain concerning her future life as a wife and a mother. Before she resumes normal activities, a shaman washes her with a special decoction.

Marriage.—There is little information on marriage in ancient times. Girls were married soon after puberty. Child betrothal is reported among the *Guaraní* of the Paraná River. In some cases little girls were given to grown men, who lived with their child wives, probably in the house of their future parents-in-law.

Child betrothal is reported among modern *Cainguá*, but the girls remain with their parents, who receive presents from their prospective sons-in-law. The preferred form of marriage seems to have been between cross-cousins and between a maternal uncle and his niece. Unions with a mother and her daughter and several polygyny can be inferred from allusions in the *Jesuitic* literature. Only chiefs and influential shamans seem to have been able to support several wives. Some powerful caciques are said to have had from 15 to 20 wives. The levirate is stated by Ruiz de Montoya (1892, p. 40) to have been observed by chiefs. Today residence is patrilocal.

Death.—So strong is the hope for reincarnation that a dying *Apapocuva* (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 337) accepts death with great fortitude. He sings medicine songs while women wail and the shamans chant, shaking their rattles in farewell to the departing soul.

Among the ancient *Guaraní*, as soon as a man had breathed his last, his wives and female relatives gave the most violent demonstrations of grief, often injuring themselves by flinging themselves to the ground from some elevation (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 32).

The ancient *Guaraní* put their dead into large chicha jars and covered them with a bowl. These funeral urns were buried up to the neck (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 32).[1] Modern *Cainguá* bury their dead directly in the ground with arms and legs flexed against the body or lay them with their possessions in a wooden trough or hollowed tree trunk.

Both ancient and some modern *Guaraní* bury their dead in the hut, which is immediately abandoned. The *Cainguá* of Pozuguay bury the

[1] Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 32: "... mother surrenders her newborn to two grandmothers, who place it in a large urn, up to the navel, surrounded with ashes and coals. The urn is then covered with a cloth."

S: Métraux E-4 [no date] 1948 Ehrt Guarani Ehrt

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century. 178 584

Today the Caingwá play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient Guaraní and various Tupí-Guaraní tribes, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the Ajoreo-Guaraní tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances. 577 [578] [579] [580] [581] [582] [583] [584] [585] [586] [587] [588] [589] [590] [591] [592] [593] [594]

The flutes of the ancient Guaraní were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments. [595]

There are few types of musical instruments among modern Caingwá. The *Pai'* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by Ajoreo men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern Caingwá. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments. [596] [597] [598] [599] [600] [601] [602] [603] [604] [605] [606] [607] [608] [609] [610] [611] [612] [613] [614] [615] [616] [617] [618] [619] [620] [621] [622] [623] [624] [625] [626] [627] [628] [629] [630] [631] [632] [633] [634] [635] [636] [637] [638] [639] [640] [641] [642] [643] [644] [645] [646] [647] [648] [649] [650] [651] [652] [653] [654] [655] [656] [657] [658] [659] [660] [661] [662] [663] [664] [665] [666] [667] [668] [669] [670] [671] [672] [673] [674] [675] [676] [677] [678] [679] [680] [681] [682] [683] [684]

Narcotics.—Ye'he maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the Guaraní, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal Guaraní seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern Caingwá collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire. 272 178 [2.92] [693] [694] [695] [696] [697] [698] [699] [700] [701] [702] [703] [704] [705] [706] [707] [708] [709] [710] [711] [712] [713] [714] [715] [716] [717] [718] [719] [720] [721] [722] [723] [724] [725] [726] [727] [728] [729] [730] [731] [732]

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RELIGION

776 The great personages of *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology deserve the title of gods though they remain aloof from the affairs of this world. Creators and Transformers, they continue to exist and seem yours to live [791] in their company. Some day they will destroy the world which they have 776, created and shaped. The most majestic deity is the Creator, Ñanderuvuçú, 779 Our Great Father, who now resides in a third region which he lights with the glimmer of his chest. His wife, who was also the first woman, Ñandecy, Our Mother, has her abode in the west in the Land-Without-Evil. According to Vellard (1939 a, p. 169), the main deity of the *Mbyá* is Ñamandu who lives in the east and gives life to the world. Tupí is the deity of the west. The north belongs to Yahúra, the god of vengeance and 776 death. Vellard (1939 a, p. 171) quotes prayers to Ñamandu in which he 782 is asked for game or for good health, but there is no evidence of a cult 791 of the Creator among the *Apapocuva*.

776 The *Paĩ* and *Mbyá*, who in the past have certainly been subject to [794] Jesuit influences, recognize Tupí as the Creator and High God. Among [792] the *Apapocuva*, whose ancient traditions seem unimpaired, Tupí, son of Ñandecy, is a secondary nature deity, the personification of the thunder. [521] He is a short man, with woolly hair, who causes a storm every time he crosses the skies in his wooden trough in the company of Thunder Birds. The original nature of this secondary god, promoted to an exalted position among acculturated *Guaraní*, is still present in the memory of his worshippers, who refer to him as "The Great Thunder," "The Great Noise," or [521] "Master of Thunder." Under him, minor Tupí are respectively lords of [785] the rain, hailstorm, lighting, and thunder (*Paĩ*). A stock of traditional [332] prayers which these Indians address to their God whenever in need of [791] help betrays Christian influences.

[796] Certain rites observed by the *Apapocuva* and even by the ancient *Guaraní* can be interpreted only as worship of the sun, whom the *Apapocuva* call "Our Father." Sun is given as the Son of Our Great Father or of Tupí.

774 Animism.—According to the *Apapocuva*, two souls coexist in every man. One, called ayvucué, comes from the mansion of some deity in the west, zenith, or east, and enters the body immediately after birth. This soul is identified with a peaceful disposition, gentleness, and a craving for vegetables; but the temperament of a person is conditioned by the animal soul (acyiguá), which he harbors in the nape of his neck. Patient and friendly people may have a butterfly soul; whereas a jaguar soul makes a man cruel and brutal. Unrest, violence, malice, and lust for meat are generally ascribed to the acyiguá.

[975] Dreams are experiences of the soul and are paid great attention, [787] especially by shamans, who derive their supernatural knowledge and power •[756] from them.

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Apapocuva

After death the two souls separate; the *ayvucué* generally tries to reach the Land-Without-Evil, but may linger dangerously near his former home. The animal soul, too, is likely to turn into a fearful ghost. To drive the *ayvucué* away, the shamans organize a dance in which two opposite groups of dancers, by running to and fro and passing each other at full speed, so confuse the soul that it is lost in a maze. The shaman then is able to deliver it to Tupã, who takes it to the Land of the Dead. The animal soul has to be attacked with weapons and exterminated like a dangerous animal (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 305).

The *Cainguá* feel themselves surrounded by spirits or demons, who appear in human or animal forms. They are the masters or the protectors of animals, plants, trees, water places, and winds. These genii, if offended, can be harmful.

Ceremonials.—Among the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, any trouble, any anxiety felt by the community or the shaman, or even the prospect of a collective enterprise stimulates a ceremonial dance. The performers stand in a line, the women on one end, jumping up and down on the same spot and pounding their stamping tubes; the men on the other end, shaking their rattles, slightly stooping, knees bent, throwing their feet forward and backward in a rapid tempo. The shaman faces the dancers and walks, runs, or bounces in front of them brandishing his rattle. Each woman in turn performs a solo dance in front of the line of the men, and sometimes she may invite a man to dance opposite her (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, p. 347).

Great emphasis is placed on orientation; the dancers always face the east and, when the entire line revolves, it invariably moves north, west, and south, describing a perfect ellipse. Dancers often hold ceremonial clubs, trimmed with basketry sheaths. The shaman carries a ritual stick. Dances take place in special fence-enclosed huts, which open toward the east and serve as storehouses for the ritual paraphernalia.

The most important *Apapocuva* ceremony is celebrated by the whole tribe just before harvest. Cultivated plants, wild fruits, and game are exhibited near candles and, after 4 days of ritual dancing, are sprinkled with holy water. The assistants at the ritual are also baptized on the same occasion. The object of the festivities, which are characterized by a spirit of harmony and pleasant cheerfulness, is to guard men and food from evil influences. The *Cainguá* offer cakes made with the first ripe maize to Tupã.

SHAMANISM

No amount of training can make an *Apapocuva-Guaraní* a shaman if he has not been supernaturally inspired with magic chants. To every adult male or female sooner or later a dead relative reveals a chant, which the recipient eagerly teaches to the rest of the community. Its possession confers a certain immunity against accidents. A shaman is a man who

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A shaman is a man who owns a great many magic chants, which he uses for the common good of his people. He must also be capable of leading a ceremonial dance, of playing the rattle gourd in the different modes, and of performing the rites befitting certain circumstances. The main test of his skill is offered by the harvest dance, which can be successfully organized only by full-fledged shamans. By his "voltes" and jumps, the shaman endeavors to make his body "light." He must also have frequent dreams, because they give him superior knowledge and insight into the future.

The ancient *Guaraní* and even many modern groups assign disease to the intrusion of an object into the body. The *Apapocuva* visualize the source of the illness as an invisible substance that the shaman sees after he has chanted for several hours. The treatment's aim is to extract that substance and to endow the patient with magic power.

Legends and historical traditions both attest the extraordinary prestige enjoyed by some shamans of old who were leaders of their tribes. After receiving their inspiration, these great men retired into the wilderness, where they lived on celestial food. By constant dancing some *Apapocuva-Guaraní* shamans gradually subjugated their animal soul, strengthening their ayvucué, or peaceful soul, until they could fly toward the heavenly Land-Without-Evil.

Among ancient *Guaraní* great medicine men worked miracles by their chants. With their saliva they caused death. They were strong enough to drag a whole tribe across a large river. They claimed absolute control of all natural phenomena, including stars. After their death, their bones, kept as relics in luxurious hammocks hung in special huts, were worshiped and consulted as oracles. Ordinary shamans added to their prestige by sleight of hand.

Shamans are not only responsible for the religious life, but also interfere in the administration of justice. Whenever a succession of misfortunes is imputed to witchcraft, the shaman unmasks the sorcerer, who is savagely killed. The shamans' political power derives, naturally, from their prestige and from the fear which they inspire. Usually, witchcraft is blamed on a neighboring tribe. Sorcerers kill their victims by practicing witchcraft on their exuviae.

MYTHOLOGY

The high-sounding names of the main characters in the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* mythology tinge it with a solemnity quite foreign to the versions of the same motifs collected elsewhere.

The story of the creation is told in impressive terms. At the beginning there was darkness, and the Eternal Bats fought in the night. Our Great Father found himself and created the earth, which he propped on the Eternal Cross. With him was a companion, Our-Father-Who-Knows-Everything. Our Great Father made a woman, Our Mother, whom he

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and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

During the last century, three *Guaraní* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the *Tanygua*, and the *Oguauiva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

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1:Dobrizhoffer M-5 (ca. 1760) 1822
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which are every-day sights amongst Europeans, amazed at what would be so novel to their eyes, they would indeed swear them to be absolute proofs of magical art. This is confirmed by the circumstance of the Brazilians calling their conjurors *Payè*, and the art of working miracles *Caraybà*, which name they afterwards gave to the European strangers, because they saw them perform things by art which, being formerly unknown to them, they imagined above the powers of nature. Hence also the Guaranies, whose language bears much resemblance to that of Brazil, at this day call all the Spaniards and Europeans *Caray*.

This simplicity of an ignorant people, the crafty jugglers know well how to turn to their own advantage, openly boasting themselves vicegerents and interpreters of the devil, their grandfather; diviners of future events; priests of the mysteries; creators, or, as they please, healers of diseases; necromancers, and governours of all the elements; easily persuading these credulous creatures any thing that comes into their heads. They are furnished with a thousand arts of deceiving. Suppose they have heard from some savage visitant that an enemy is coming to attack the horde; this knowledge they will boast of to their hordesmen as if it had been revealed to them by their

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A 756 could never bring myself to credit it, always remaining of opinion that they neither know, nor are capable of performing any thing above human powers. Being firmly persuaded that A 756 797 they would do me all the evil in their power, I often accosted them in a friendly manner, and by all sorts of good offices endeavoured to prevail upon them to alter their manner of life, and embrace religion; for by their example almost all the rest would regulate their conduct. But this was like washing the blackamoor white: for these wickedest of mortals, unwilling to part with their authority and lucrative office, left no stone unturned, no frauds unattempted to deter and intimidate their countrymen from going to church, attending to the instructions of the priests, and receiving baptism, daily denouncing death, and destruction on the whole nation, unless they obeyed. Nor is this either new or surprizing. In all the American nations the teachers of the holy religion have found the jugglers upholders of ancient superstition, and rocks in the way of the desired progress of the Christian law. G 756 797 Good heavens! what contests, and what trouble did they not cause to Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, the famous Guarany missionary! It was not till he had repressed the authority of the remaining jugglers, and commanded the bones of

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the dead ones, which were universally worshipped with great honours, to be burnt in the presence of the people, that he converted an infinite number of savages to the Christian religion, and induced them to enter colonies. Till these knavish *holophants*, and sycophants to speak with Plautus, are abolished, nothing can be done with the savages; this I affirm on experience. The town of St. Joachim not only merited the praise of religion, but produced many fruits of genuine piety. But as snakes often lurk in the grass, and tares in the most abundant harvest, an old Indian secretly performed the office of juggler there, and suffered himself to be adored as a divine person by some foolish women, whom he served in the double capacity of physician, and prophet, at the same time carrying on a criminal intercourse with them. These things were disclosed to me by Ignatius Paranderi, chief Cacique of the town; so that judging it advisable immediately to reprove this mischievous old man in public, since private admonitions were of no avail, I repaired to his house attended by all the chief people of the place; and imitating, in this important business, the thundering tongue of Cicero when he fulminated against Catiline, addressed him in the following manner. "How long, accursed old man, will you

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